

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

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FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4410

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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USUN NEW YORK 0447

C O N F I D E N T I A L BERLIN 5622

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, US, GE

SUBJECT: GDR MFA OFFICIAL'S VIEWS ON PRESIDENT'S UN ADDRESS

REF: (A) STATE 062223; (B) BERLIN 5585 PARA 9

1. DURING HOUR-LONG DISCUSSION MARCH 25 WITH CHARGE, GDR MFA UN SECTION CHIEF ROSA MADE A NUMBER OF GENERAL AS WELL AS SPECIFIC REMARKS ABOUT PRESIDENT CARTER'S MARCH 17 FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH AT UN. HE SAID THE SPEECH WAS BEING LOOKED AT CAREFULLY IN THE MFA AND WAS ALSO BEING STUDIED AT "HIGHER CONFIDENTIAL

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LEVELS." THERE WAS, HE ADDED, MUCH OF INTEREST IN IT. ALTHOUGH CHARGE NOTED THAT PRESENTATION OF SPEECH AT UN WAS MEANT TO HIGHLIGHT IMPORTANCE NEW ADMINISTRATION ATTACHES TO UN, ROSA DID NOT COMMENT ON THIS ASPECT. NOR DID ROSA RESPOND TO CHARGE'S POINT THAT ALL SECTIONS OF SPEECH ARE IMPORTANT AND WILL BE PURSUED WITH VIGOR BY THE ADMINISTRATION.

2. ROSA FOCUSED INSTEAD ON ARMS CONTROL AND HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECTS, ADDING THAT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES WERE NOT IN HIS BAILIWICK. ROSA HAD SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ON THE SECTION OF THE SPEECH DEALING WITH NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT ISSUES. HE WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER THE PRESIDENT'S REMARK ABOUT THE SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR TESTING BY THE TWO MAJOR NUCLEAR POWERS MEANT THE US WOULD BE WILLING TO HALT ALL TESTING BEFORE A TREATY SIGNED BY ALL NUCLEAR COUNTRIES COULD BE ACHIEVED. ROSA'S CONCERN WAS THAT, "LEAVING CHINA OUT OF THE EQUATION FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE DISCUSSION," IF THE US AND USSR STOPPED, BUT THE OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS (UK AND FRANCE) DID NOT, THE WARSAW PACT WOULD BE AT A DISADVANTAGE. NATO, AT LEAST IN THE GUISE OF THE UK, COULD GO ON TESTING, AND PERHAPS THE US WOULD TRY TO USE THE UK AS A WAY OF AVOIDING ANY WASHINGTON COMMITMENT TO STOP TESTING.

3. WHILE NOT REJECTING THE IDEA OF A US/USSR SUSPENSION OF TESTING, ROSA SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS AN "IMPULSE" SHOULD BE GIVEN TO A TREATY BANNING ALL TESTING BY ALL NUCLEAR POWERS. CHARGE SAID THAT, BASED ON HIS READING OF PRESIDENT'S SPEECH BUT SPEAKING PERSONALLY, IT SEEMED INCONCEIVABLE THE US, IF IT UNDERTOOK A COMMITMENT WITH THE USSR TO SUSPEND TESTING, WOULD TRY TO USE THE BRITISH AS A SURRPGATE TO CONTINUE TESTING. CHARGE ALSO THAUGHT THAT A BILATERAL SUSPENSION WOULD BE AN "IMPULSE" TO AN AGREEMENT SIGNED BY ALL NUCLEAR

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POWERS TO HALT ALL TESTING.

4. ROSA ALSO ASKED WHETHER THE PRESIDENT'S REFERENCE TO A "FREEZE ON NEW TYPES AND NEW GENERATIONS OF WEAPONS" WAS CONFINED TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR COULD ALSO INCLUDE CHEMICAL WEAPONS. HE EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN THAT, UNLIKE RECENT STATEMENTS BY BREZHNEV, THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT MENTIONED BANNING CHEMICAL WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT. WITH RESPECT TO CONTROLLING ARMS EXPORTS TO "TROUBLED AREAS" OF THE WORLD, ROSA WONDERED HOW WE WOULD DEFINE "TROUBLED" SPOTS. WOULD THESE, FOR EXAMPLE, INCLUDE IRAN -- WHICH IS NOT NOW "TROUBLED" AREA. FINALLY, THE GDR WAS INTERESTED IN THE MATTER OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION. THEY WERE CONCERNED, HE ASSERTED, ABOUT A POSSIBLE "FEEDBACK" FROM BRAZIL TO THE FRG. THUS, THE NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUE WAS A SPECIAL ONE FOR THE GDR.

5. IN RESPONSE TO ROSA'S QUESTONS, CHARGE SAID THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WAS HIS FIRST ONE ON FOREIGN POLICY,

SETTING OUT GENERAL APPROACHES, WITH THE DETAILS TO BE FILLED IN. THEREFORE, WHILE CHARGE COULD NOT RESPOND FULLY TO ROSA'S QUESTIONS, A CAREFUL READING OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WOULD SHOW THAT IT WAS HIS SERIOUS INTENTION TO TURN DOWN ARMS RACE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE AND TO LIMIT EXPORTS OF CONVENTIO AL WEAPONS, IN THIS CONTEXT, CHARGE WAS OF THE VIEW PERSONALLY THAT CHEMICAL WEAPONS COULD BE INCLUDED AS PART OF EFFORT TO REDUCE MAJOR ARSENALS. THE PRESIDENT WAS ALSO FIRMLY COMMITTED TO HALTING THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HOW THESE GOALS COULD BE ACHIEVED WOULD DEPEND IN PART ON THE RESPONSES OF APPROPRIATE GOVERNMENTS.

6. ROSA ADDRESSED THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN A NON-POLIMICAL WAY, URGING CAUTION AS THE BEST APPROACH. IN HIS VIEW, IT WAS NOT JUST A QUESTION OF A "HANDFUL" OF PEOPLE IN THE WEST WHO WERE GENUINELY INTERESTED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT OF A CALCULATED ATTEMPT TO USE HUMAN RIGHTS AS A "PRETEXT" TO HEAT UP THE SITUATION. THE AIM WAS TO STYMIE POLITICAL DETENTE. IT WAS, IN HIS VIEW, IMPORTANT THAT POLITICAL DETENTE. IT WAS, IN HIS VIEW, IMPORTANT THAT POLITICAL DETENTE SHOULD CONTINUE; THEN "OTHER PROBLEMS" COULD BE DISCUSSED MORE EASLIY. HUMAN RIGHTS WAS A LONG-TERN PROBLEM, AND CONTINUED EMPHASIS ON THEM COULD NOT HELP BUT WORSEN THE ATMOSPHERE, WHICH THE GDR DOES NOT WANT TO HAPPEN.

7. ROSA WAS OPPOSED TO THE IDEA OF A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER, BECAUSE ONE MAN COULD NOT SIT IN JUDGMENT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF UN MEMBERS. THE GDR HAD NO OBJECTION TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION REMAINING IN NEW YORK WHEN IT HAD BEEN MOVED TO GENEVA, HE SAID, BUT DID NOT SAY IT WOULD SUPPORT ITS RETURN TO NEW YORK. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE COMMISSION AND ITS ACTIVITIES, ROSA SAID HE PERONALLY FELT THE COMMISSION COULD MEET MORE OFTEN, AND DO MORE WORK, BUT IT WOULD BE BETTER NOT TO "PUSH THINGS" TOO HARD. THE GDR HAD PLENTY OF AMMUNITION ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOL-ATIONS, ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE FRG, BUT WAS NOT INTERESTED IN HEATING UP THE SITUATION.

8. CHARGE REJECTED ROSA'S SUGGESTION THAT ONLY A HANDFUL OF PEOPLE WERE GENUINELY INTERESTED IN HUMAN RIGHTS, OR THAT ATTENTION TO THE ISSUE WAS DESIGNED TO SLOW DOWN POLITICAL DETENTE. THE PRESIDENT, AS HE HAD MADE CLEAR, WAS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO THE PURSUIT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THAT AS MUCH ATTENTION WOULD BE DEVOTED TO THIS AS TO OTHER PARTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY.

9. COMMENT: ROSA HAS THE REPUTATION AMONG WESTERN
DIPLOMATS HERE AS BEING ONE OF THE MORE REASONABLE TYPES
AT THE MFA. CERTAINLY HIS DISCUSSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S
SPEECH, INCLUDING THE BASICALLY NEGATIVE COMMENTS ON
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HUMAN RIGHTS, WAS MODERATE IN TONE AND CONTENT. SINCE HIS
SECTION HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR A NUMBER OF DISARMAMENT
ISSUES, HE WAS MOST INTERESTED IN THIS ASPECT OF THE
PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. WHILE HE OBVIOUSLY WILL NOT BE THE
ONE WHO DECIDES GDR POLICY ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES RAISED
IN THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH, HE SEEMS RECEPTIVE TO
EXCHANGEING VIEWS, AND THE EMBASSY BELIEVES IT WOULD BE
WORTHWHILE TO STEP CONTACT WITH HIM. POLANSKY

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Message Attributes

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